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ABSTRACT

Satisfaction with one's community is an elusive quality related to a variety of physical and social factors. As changes in the community become imminent, levels of satisfaction may also change. Residents of two communities were periodically questioned as their personal satisfaction, (happy place, suitable size), satisfaction with services (schools, recreation, police protection), attitudes toward planning (limiting development, access to information), and general optimism (peace, personal influence). One of the communities, Ranchland, was predominantly rural while the other, Valleyville, was a small university town of approximately 20,000. Valleyville residents generally viewed the rapid changes occurring in their community as naturally occuring, as progress accompanied by increased diversity and opportunity. Ranchland residents, however, faced a different situation, for large scale coal development was imminent and the change agents were to be "foreign" decision makers such as mining corporations, energy companies, and state and federal governments. Within two years Ranchland residents became much more critical of their area and the planning efforts within it, even though actual changes had not yet occurred. Apparently changes in perception related to a place need not be associated with actual changes which have occurred there so much as to perceptions of who would control the change in the event it occurred. The difference in acceptance primarily appears to be due to a willingness to favor development. (Author/DS)

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CHANGING COUNTRY, CHANGING TOWN: A COMPARISON OF SATISFACTION AND FEELINGS REGARDING DEVELOPMENT IN HIGH EXPANSION POTENTIAL COMMUNITIES*

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ABSTRACT

Satisfaction with one's community is an elusive quality related to a variety of physical and social factors. As change in the community becomes imminent levels of satisfaction may also change. This paper examines changing satisfaction in two communities, one predominantly rural and the other a town of approximately 20,000 persons. Anticipated change, receptivity toward planning and integration into the community are considered. A two phase longitudinal design for comparing the communities is described. Data are applied to testing hypotheses relating satisfaction, integration, and receptivity toward planning given the prospect of change. Discussion relevant to community research and to practioners in the field of planned social change is presented.

The dimensions and the causes of satisfaction and feelings toward development are many and varied. The object of this paper is to examine changing satisfaction expressed by respondents with regard to the community in which they reside as well as tangential issues associated with it. Satisfaction with the community already has been shown to be associated with the degree of integration into the community (Jobes, 1976, Michelson, 1977). One major issue is how integration is related to satisfaction among residents living there. Examinations of two contrasting communities, Ranchland and Valleyville, are used to explore this and subsequently described issues. Well integrated persons in Valleyville tend to be less critical of development and less supportive of planning than unintegrated persons. Their expectations appear to favor an expanding town. In Ranchland, where preferences tend toward retaining rural life styles, development has met with strongest objections from the more integrated residents. By implication this means that town communities may decline in quality from the perspectives of residents and may have little hope for reversal of that trend because those persons most capable of effecting planned change to prevent or moderate community loss of particularly desirable qualities do not participate in such efforts. Moreover, those persons who are critical of urban community characteristics are, unlike their rural cousins, less integrated into the community and less capable of effectively participating in the planning process.

Community is among the most general concepts in sociology. Indeed, it is so general that acceptable definitions which permit comparative analyses are rather difficult to provide. For the purposes of these

analyses communities are places where interaction among residents help define and obtain collective goals and individual needs (Sussman, 1959). These activities are facilitated through a sense of weness, a shared recognition by community members of an entanglement of their lives and the institutions in the space they jointly occupy.

The analytic foundations of the comparisons are human ecological (Hawley, 1950). The fundamental assumption is that persons' satisfaction with their community environment and their receptivity toward changes in it, are determined by its position along a folk-urban continuum (Redfield, 1956). Ranchland, isolated and rural with a small stable population of permanent residents responsible for cooperating for their survival, falls toward the gemeinschaft end of the continuum. Valleyville, though no metropolis, is more gesellschaft.

The Issues

Social change is inevitable in modern societies (Cottrell, 1972). It is most likely to be perceived as problematic when persons feel it is induced by forces outside their control which bring about conditions perceived less desirable than existed prior to their emanation (Lindblom, 1965). Persons residing in communities may perceive imminent change as either favorable or unfavorable, determining in part whether their satisfaction will increase or decrease. In addition to changing satisfaction, community residents may favor or oppose participating in activities which help prevent or encourage change as well as to mitigate any impacts which might occur. And, the integration of persons into their communities is strongly associated with their satisfaction with the community and their feelings regarding planning.

Two varieties of social change deserve distinction. Crescive change is generally just perceived to be occurring, "out there." That is, it is considered natural, hence less amenable to modification, than its counterpart, purposive change, which is sought by some identifiable agents (Warren, 1977). In Valleyville most change seems conceived by residents as crescive and generally of their liking, though in fact much of the recent growth has been deliberately created and encouraged by particular persons. Residents generally regard recent and future change as "progress", symbolic of increased diversity and opportunity, though a few see it as indicative of the creeping homogenization process which some say will transform their town into another of the nearly endless fast food, mall centered, suburb surrounded towns found throughout the United States (Dobriner, 1966). Ranchland residents, on the other hand, are faced with an identifiable cause of change: coal development. The agents of change, mining corporations, energy companies and state and federal governments are omnipresent, foreign decision makers on their lands. Their feelings toward change are far less positive than in Valleyville.

The control of change is hypothesized to be responsible for whether change is perceived as crescive or purposive (Warren, 1977). Valleyville is lacking major power struggles and is loosely overseen by elites who do not appear to be particularly distrusted or feared. Ranchland was under the informal control of a ranching elite until recently. Still powerful, these persons now have assumed a more populist position in their contesting of development.

Description of Study Areas

Ranchland is rolling high plains grassland interspersed with scattered pine forests, (See Jobes 1975 for more complete discussion) grasslands and one flood plain (Northern Great Plains Resource Program, 1975). It was among the earliest areas in the region to be settled by white ranchers and has remained under the ownership of several ranching families since the 1880's despite the economic and environmental hardships which have effected ranching since that time. The area has one small town of approximately four hundred persons which has general services. Three small settlements with combined populations of less than 100 are located on dirt roads near the river which runs through the area. Local public services include two one room elementary schools K-8, a deputy, electricity, telephones and, rarely, road maintenance.

Neighboring is the predominant extra familial social activity. Ranches are widely dispersed and visits are both scarce and appreciated. Occasional assistance is offered among kin and neighbors, especially during peak work periods such as haying and roundup. The pace of life is slow, relaxed and very informal. Eighty-nine percent of respondents had lived in the area for 6 or more years and nineteen percent had lived there for over 50 years. Ninety-four percent reported being born in the state. Except for the motorized vehicles, telephones and electricity, existence in Ranchland is much as it was nearly a century ago. By necessity its residents have retained independence and self sufficiency, realities which lend themselves to a romantic attraction to the area and to their ways of surviving in it (Kraenzel, 1966). Only the town has any

public assistance and there it is only occasionally used.

Underlying Ranchland is one of the largest and richest coal deposits on earth. Importantly, the seams hold suphur free coal easily accessible to surface mining. Most coal belongs to the federal government even though surface land and water rights usually are the property of ranchers. In some cases private deeds assure landowners of mineral and surface rights. The importance of coal development potential in the area can hardly be over-stressed (Jobes, 1977). Surrounding areas and Ranchland itself have undergone rapid large scale surface mine exploitation since 1976 which probably is only the beginning of such development. It is of concern to ranchers because of a variety of potentially upsetting physical environmental effects somewhat unique to the region as well as social impacts which also are potentially disruptive (Gilmore, 1975; Clark, 1975).

The county seat and site of a small state university, Valleyville has a diversified economic base which reflects its domination over retail distribution throughout the surrounding rural area (See Jobes, 1978 for more complete description). Although agriculture provides the primary rural occupation, recreational development is the most rapidly expanding sector in the rural economy. In addition to these sectors are relatively small logging and mining operations. Finally, Valleyville recently has experienced development of light industries, which have begun to contribute to the economic base. This town and surrounding area have been selected because they so nearly meet the ideal requirements of the research needs. Most important of these requirements is that Valleyville has experienced

and continues to experience very rapid growth. Population has grown from c. 10,700 in 1950 to c. 13,400 in 1960, c. 18,700 in 1970, and 22,600 in 1976, an increase of 59% since 1960. The growth, which is among the highest in the region, is indicative of general expansion in most economic sectors and, especially, the tourist and recreation industry and ancillary development. Besides its rapid growth Valleyville is an ideal site because of the natural beauty and resources of the area. These characteristics are largely responsible for the success of extractive and recreational industries. Consequently, it is the type of area that is extremely attractive to many persons. At the same time these characteristics are extremely vulnerable to some forms of development (Reilly, 1973). Finally, Valleyville captures many of the characteristics that often are romantically idealized among Americans (Vidich and Bensman, 1958). It would be considered a small town by many Americans though it is large by regional standards. The older sections of town are lined with elm trees and lawns. Houses generally are well maintained as indicated by a recent local survey finding less than 5% of the housing substandard. These are romanticized images, of course, but remain important conceptions for evaluating a community. In fact, Valleyville experiences varieties of deviance and social disorganization suffered by many large industrial centers although their frequencies and intensities seem to be reduced for most indicators. Some recent arrivals also are likely to be disturbed by a relative absence of conditions which are taken for granted in more cosmopolitan locations. Romanticized images of rural American, what the Biddles call the Rural Mystique, tend to delete the unfavorable, but they

continue to be important for discussing a concept as subjective as reasons for satisfaction within a community (Biddle and Biddle, 1965). Certainly since deTocqueville's observations regarding the bedrock small towns create for the structure of American society, scholars as well as lay persons have been intrigued with their contribution (deTocqueville, 1956).

Valleyville also is among the more developed and prosperous communities in the state in which it is located. 57% of the residents of Valley County, of which Valleyville is the county seat, are urban, making it among the most urban in the state. In addition to these urban dwellers, all of whom reside in Valleyville, the county has one-third non-farm residents, many of whom live on its outskirts in unincorporated areas. The median income of $8,800 for Valley County in 1970 was ninth highest in the state, while the percentage of persons with welfare income and below the poverty level are near the lowest in the state.

As might be expected for a rapidly growing county with a university town, Valley County has a fluid population. Only 39% of Valley County residents resided in the same house in 1970 as they had in 1965, next to the lowest in the state. 19.5% of 1970 Valley County residents were living in another state in 1965, which is among the highest in the state. 40% of Valley County residents were born in other states, a figure which also is above the state average.

Description of Theoretical Concepts and Study Design

The Dependent Variables: Resident Satisfaction

Personal satisfaction is an elusive quality which may relate to a variety of factors experienced by individuals (Campbell, Converse and

Rodgers, 1976). Satisfaction may be regarded as a continuum upon which individuals may be ordered relative to other persons according to their affective feelings expressed concerning any characteristic (Murans and Rodgers, 1974). This empirically derived definition is intended to convey the more initially acceptable definition of satisfaction which involves relative gratification, pleasure and contentment regarding the referrent. Used in this manner no absolute meaning of satisfaction is intended. Instead, expressed sentiments measure respondents relative to all others. This report is only concerned with aspects of satisfaction related to qualities of the communities being studied. These qualities may be divided into two general categories, the social climate and the adequacy of goods and services.

Discussion of satisfaction leads quickly to the matter of what is meant by community satisfaction. Although a general sentiment may prevail for an individual or even throughout a community, such sentiment is likely to reflect more specific sentiments regarding a variety of attributes of the community (Andrews and Willey, 1974; Sheldon and Moore, 1968). That is, general satisfaction may reflect feelings that their experience with informal interaction systems, such as voluntary associations and political structures, are satisfactory (Strumpel, 1974). In addition to interaction systems, community members may vary in the satisfaction with the provisions of goods and services ranging across nearly boundless activities but most frequently thought of as major needs provided for by the public and private sectors. Moreover, the value individuals attach to particular activities may vary, thereby effecting their general evaluation of the community.

The complexity of satisfaction, then, places demands upon analytic utilization of the concept. For the purposes of this research measures across several dimensions have been collected.

Attitudes Toward Planning

Few subjects have the ability to evoke such extreme and impassioned responses in the United States as does the concept of planning (Boyle and Lathrop, 1970). The threat primarily lies in the perceived loss of freedom through the harnessing of technology and environment in order to achieve specified goals (Mesthan, 1970). By planning is meant the establishment of criteria for decision making governing any area as well as the mechanisms by which those criteria may be achieved (Gans, 1968). Plans may direct social services as well as the use of physical spaces (President's Commission on National Goals, 1960). Although general intentions for such planning may be applauded by residents, objections often arise as plans begin to take form. Perhaps the most fundamental objection to area wide planning is that decisions are imposed upon land and resource owners rather than left to them. Less fundamental but nevertheless serious objections are directed against the goals of the particular plan and the mechanisms by which goals have been established and enforced.

Sentiments toward planning also fall along continua (Campbell, Converse and Rodgers, 1976). Persons may vary in support or rejection of the generalized goal of planning implementation for a particular area and of the rules of planning to achieve that goal and the mechanisms by which the plan was established and is enforced. Persons also differ in their knowledge regarding planning objectives and attempts (Dye, 1975). Planning, therefore,

also is composed of several dimensions, each which may be subject to varying levels of support.

Feelings Regarding the Physical Environment

Perhaps the most obvious place to look for reasons for discontent is the physical environment. One may question the certainty of Ortega y Gassett who said "Tell me the landscape in which you live and I will tell you who you are," and still recognize an importance which physical environment has upon behavior. Nevertheless, he expresses a belief implicit in the attachment of persons to places as well as an idea frequently encountered in the literature (Ortega y Gassett, 1941). Glaser and others have demonstrated the physical environment has relatively little to do with residential satisfaction in suburbs (1965). Similarly, urban settings which have been studied have shown only slight relationships with satisfaction (Michelson, 1977). Rather, in each case social relationships have been demonstrated to be considerably more associated with satisfaction, which is consonant with observations in Ranchland and Valleyville. However, whereas changes in suburban and urban settings generally are unlikely to upset the economic foundations of permanently established social systems, such widespread changes as converting land from agricultural production to fossil fuel production are capable of dramatic alterations. Objections, then, to negative effects on land, water and air from coal exploitation in Ranchland are extremely important because those effects imply a change from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft. Communities are places where residents jointly accomplish activities. In towns, the focus of accomplishment becomes increasingly utilitarian in contrast to the more appreciative

pattern of rural community settings (Warren, 1977). The author contends that the personal, informal and effective interaction characterizing the rural areas of the west is the foundation of what is popularly called "way of life". This is facilitated by the sparsely populated agrarian ranch existence, which residents feel will be destroyed if the familiar formulae for their lives are upset. Thus, the physical environment holds special symbolic importance to them as a place permitting their way of life as well as an unpolluted place with few people (Rapaport, 1974).

Several relevant analogies can be drawn from previous research to further describe differences between Ranchland and Valleyville. Barker and his associates' concept of behavioral setting is applicable, almost in toto, to Ranchland, where residents interact in small overlapping networks of friendship, kinship, neighboring, school system and informal control activity (1973). Sometimes conceived of as "undermanned", social systems involving persons in several settings require and often receive high dedication and commitment from participants. Larger, more complex social systems, such as Valleyville, should be expected to have less personal threat from the potential dissolution of existing interactive settings than should Ranchland. The psychosocial climate concept of Moos (1973, 1975) also is applicable to the setting of Ranchland in that the area has so few persons as to have permitted the evolution of particular dimensions of relationships, personal development and maintenance of the order of the community.

Methodology

Measuring perceptions of social change of variables like satisfaction

and integration into the community is a difficult conceptual chore. These difficulties increase through panel design research even though it permits the introduction of longitudinal dimensions into analyses which otherwise would be difficult to obtain (Warwick, 1973). Several comparisons of responses become possible which help ascertain which variables are most operating to account for changes in responses. 1972 respondents are compared with all 1976 respondents, formerly interviewed 1976 respondents and newly interviewed 1976 respondents. 1976 formerly interviewed respondents also are compared with newly interviewed 1976 respondents. These comparisons provide for net differences between 1972 and 1976, changes among responses by 1972 respondents four years later, differences between all earlier and all later first interviews, and the differences between all 1976 respondents. These comparisons measure changes and differences regarding satisfaction, and responsiveness to social planning in the community. Differences of means test were computed between all combinations of samples and sub-samples through the assistance of SPSS (Nie, 1975).

In 1972, 146 (73%) successful interviews were collected from a randomly selected sample of 200 Valleyville respondents. In 1976, 50 (34%) of the original interviewees were available and willing to be reinterviewed. An additional 60 (75%) respondents were interviewed from a newly (1976) drawn selective sample of 80. Samples were restricted to persons residing within the city limits of Valleyville. In 1974, 259 (87%) successful interviews were collected from the population of 298 households in Ranchland.

In 1976 interviewees were mailed self administered questionnaires which were completed by 83 (32%) respondents. Questions asked during the second sets of interviews were those which had been capable of reliably discriminating among respondents during the initial analyses of 1972 data. Consequently, comparisons of responses are based on exactly the same questions. The relatively low percentage of persons available for the 1976 follow-ups are indicative of several problems of panel research. Many persons had moved from Valleyville and Ranchland making their responses no longer appropriate for the study. Others had died or become too ill to be interviewed. Still others felt they had "said all they cared to say", or "done their duty" once and that now others should be called upon. These problems, exacerbated by the transience which especially characterizes college towns and rapidly growing towns, led to low follow-up interview rate in marked contrast to the relatively high response rates for persons drawn in each of the newly drawn samples.

Among the questions of greatest concern to scientists engaged in survey research are those related to the reliability of their instruments. While all wish their measures were capable of accurately measuring similar phenomena among differing populations, most recognize the current inability of most survey instruments to accomplish this task. This lack of reliability creates problems in addition to those of accurate measurement of a particular set of responses, when longitudinal analyses are being performed. For example, it is difficult to be certain that changes reported over time by a set of respondents are due to actual changes in respondents' feelings regarding phenomena or whether such changes are due to lack of precision

of measuring instruments (Heise, 1970). This problem, in addition to those other sources of variation described above, must also be kept in mind by readers of this report (Wheaton, 1977). Hopefully the nearly exact replication of questions from the initial surveys helped to minimize this source of error. Two varieties of measures of satisfaction will be considered. The first pertain to services which generally are the responsibility of the public sector. The second measure informal personal satisfaction. The distinction is made since services indicate a more gesselschaft responsibility, whereas kinship and friendship fall more toward the other end of the continuum. Rural persons can be satisfied without services which townspersons take for granted. A reduction in rural satisfaction with services may actually imply a net reduction in general satisfaction with their area. On the other hand, personal satisfaction in rural areas may be essential for sustained residence because its primary source is interaction with meaningful others.

Service Satisfaction

Residents of both Ranchland and Valleyville appeared to be moderately satisfied with the service sectors in their communities the first time data were collected. The entire questions relevant to all subsequent analyses are provided in the Appendix. Valleyville generally reported greater satisfaction, significantly so regarding local schools, recreational facilities, medical and counselling services, and job opportunities. Ranchland residents were significantly more satisfied with senior citizen facilities and public housing adequacy. But, in each case dissatisfaction

with services was unusual even though Ranchland lacked facilities or services in most of these and in many other service sectors.

(TABLE I ABOUT HERE)

Perceptions of the adequacy of services rapidly and often significantly changed during the time separating the periods of data collection. (See Table I) Increases in satisfaction with most services occurred in Valleyville while dissatisfaction became more widespread in Ranchland. The significance of differences existing earlier usually were maintained or strengthened while additional differences appeared regarding police protection, over all health care, public housing and adult education. That is, Ranchland responses had become increasingly negative in comparison to those from Valleyville.

These differences become more clearly understood as differences within the communities are examined. Four years passage in Valleyville led to increasing satisfaction in most sectors. 1976 respondents were significantly more satisfied with public safety, police protection, recreational and health facilities and job opportunities. They were less satisfied with the schools, medical care and adequacy of public housing. Meanwhile, in Ranchland significantly increased dissatisfaction became obvious. Respondents had become more critical of police protection, facilities for health, counselling and senior citizens, medical care, job and adult education opportunities and public housing. Only satisfaction with recreational facilities became greater than it had been. This significant reduction in satisfaction with services in Ranchland combined

with moderate increases in Valleyville, accounts for most of the net differences between the two areas over the periods of change.

Personal Satisfaction

One might be hard pressed in a search of the literature to find a community high in personal satisfaction experiencing significant considerable reversals in satisfaction in spite of practically no actual development as occurred in Ranchland in just two years' time. In 1974 nearly everyone regarded it as a satisfactory place to live, so much so that significant preferences exist between their responses and those from Valleyville, which also were generally satisfied. Ranchland residents were more likely to regard their area as having everything necessary for a happy life. They regarded it as so desirable that they would rather pay higher taxes to remain there than to live elsewhere, a sentiment hardly shared by most Valleyville respondents. Ranchland respondents felt people were more helpful there and that it was about the right size to such an extent that they even worried more about planned future population growth.

The next data collection period showed a pronounced reversal of this idyllic picture. (See Table I) No longer was Ranchland perceived to be sufficiently desirable or satisfactory to be more positively regarded than Valleyville, and in some instances it was less positively regarded. Neighbors in Ranchland were still held to be more helpful and the number of residents were still seen to be acceptable though the fear of population growth was even more pronouced than earlier. But, except for these differences, no others existed.

Much of the reason for this abrupt change is demonstrated by within

community comparisons. Throughout Valleyville, satisfaction showed a definite increase. It was seen as a more desirable place with greater potential for happiness than it had been in 1972. Persons were more willing to pay higher taxes to remain there, though they did not report people there being as helpful as they had been in 1972.

Ranchland perceptions developed in essentially the opposite direction. It was no longer seen as capable of providing everything necessary for a happy life nor as sufficiently desirable to warrant higher taxes in order to remain there. Local residents no longer were seen as more helpful than those in other places and it was seen more frequently as a little too small. The personal satisfaction had begun to crumble as some generalized impressions began to effect the ways in which residents felt about the satisfaction of area attributes.

Development and Planning

Changes in community satisfaction have been hypothesized to result in part from development, both actual and anticipated, occurring in Ranchland and Valleyville. Two matters regarding development are important. First, development which has occurred may be perceived as having had favorable or detrimental effects. The size of the community, scenic resources, satisfaction with the influence in decision making and with access to information are measures which can indicate such effects. Second, the acceptability of controls also must be considered since it implies the degree to which residents might participate in optimizing their satisfaction in their communities.

Respondents from each location tended to see measures of dynamic

variables in their area as positive. For example, both sets of respondents expressed satisfaction with the sizes of their communities by disagreeing their communities were too small. Valleyville residents especially felt their community was large enough. Unlike the Randhland respondents, they also felt local scenic resources were being protected. Both sets of respondents were moderately satisfied with their influence on local

(TABLE II ABOUT HERE)

decision making, though neither was significantly more satisfied. Each also was moderately satisfied with the public access to information.

By 1976 only slight reversals in opinions regarding these dynamic measures had taken place. (See Table II) Ranchland residents were significantly more certain their community was about the right size, whereas Valleyville respondents were more supportive of population increase. Similarly, Valleyville respondents were significantly surer than were Ranchland respondents that their scenic resources were being protected. Valleyville respondents were somewhat eager to have more wilderness designated in their area while Ranchland persons differed significantly on this matter. Ranchland, on the other hand, favored limiting development to a few specific locations in their area, a feeling not held in Valleyville. Moreover, the satisfaction of each group increased regarding access to development information and their abilities to participate in decision making.

As might be expected, the differences between responses are more clearly defined within each group. Ranchland respondents had significantly

rejected the notion that their community was too small by 1976, though no changes in the scenic resources of their area were noted. Later respondents also felt they had better access to information though little change occurred in their satisfaction with influences on government decisions affecting them. In Valleyville no significant differences were found. And, although respondents in Valleyville continued to favor wilderness significantly more than in Randhland, the differences between their feelings of limiting sites of growth had diminished. These changes were due almost entirely to the differences which emerged in Valleyville. Whereas no differences were observed in Ranchland, later respondents in Valleyville were significantly less likely to support the designation of more local areas as wilderness though they were more supportive of limiting local development to specific sites.

Acceptability of Planning and Agents of Control

It appears, then, that each place does prefer and would continue to prefer the development of their areas to be crescive. This preference remains strong so long as community development is perceived as satisfactory. Government directed planning beyond the local level is likely to be especially disliked. Planned change appears to be more favorably regarded as the natural elements of change are perceived to be out of control of local governments.

The acceptability of controls governing development had been an issue of concern during the initital interviews. Valleyville respondents were significantly more supportive of planners from the state and federal governments - though feelings were fairly mixed in Ranchland and became

relatively less supportive of local control over planning. Who would control development probably was of as much concern as was opposition to planning itself. Although varying considerably, Ranchland respondents opposed any planning efforts more than was typical in Valleyville, a position which also was maintained when voting for a hypothetical plan was posed during the interviews.

Most of these differences were maintained with the passage of time. Ranchland opposition to government planners was retained relative to Valleyville support. Similarly, voting for a hypothetical plan was strongly supported in Valleyville in contrast to Ranchland's moderate disapproval. But the strength of opposition to a scientifically derived plan no longer was significant between the two groups nor was a difference favoring individual community controls over development present any longer.

Ranchland respondents had become more opposed to government planners and more strongly convinced that local communities should control the planning process. They were significantly more likely to vote for planning, though they were no more likely to sign a petition against it.

In Valleyville a similar, albeit less pronounced, change had taken place. Residents there were no more opposed to government planners than they had been, but their support of local community control had strengthened significantly. They were now more likely to sign a petition against a proposed plan, although not much more likely to vote against it, if it was presented to them.

A final indication of changes in these areas is found in measures only tangentially related to satisfaction or the acceptability of planning and its control agents. These questions pertain to the optimism

with which respondents look toward broad issues affecting their lives. An underlying consideration is that dissatisfaction and pessimism regarding one's community might be associated with similar sentiments regarding world events. On the other hand, responses might reflect more general differences in perspectives held by rural people and townspeople which are somewhat independent of the perceived acceptability of one's community. In either case, however, if change between the communities are disproportionate, then a more universal and widespread satisfaction might be implied.

Comparisons of the initial interviews indicate that respondents from each group were similar in their beliefs that world peace could be achieved and that power rested in the hands of a elite. Both were more agreeable to the former idea than to the latter. However, Ranchland respondents were significantly more likely to feel helpless in their modern world. In 1976 the initial similarity regarding world peace was retained while differences in perceived personal helplessness no longer were reported. However, Ranchland respondents were strongly in disagreement that the world was controlled by a powerful elite which could not be challenged. These changes occurred almost entirely due to variations in Ranchland response patterns. No differences were observed between 1972 and 1976 in Valleyville. But in Ranchland the beflied that the elite could be controlled had developed while no changes regarding feelings of helplessness or the achievement of peace had occurred there. Although hardly a definitive test, these data indicate no profound differences in world views between town and country, results consonant with other

observations. (Slater, 1970)

Given the possible research induced sources of error, which partially confound interpretations of results, it is nevertheless evident that significant changes did occur between response patterns following a two year interval. Certainly it is likely that such changes in responses could have occurred because of changes in feelings regarding satisfaction with the area and acceptability of planning within the area. Several reasons can be posited, which, in toto, might help account for the changes. Ranchland area has received considerable attention by researchers, administrators and mass media, which may have sensitized the residents to relative deprivation of services as well as for negative implications resulting from development without planning. Since the area has so frequently been discussed as a probable site for coal development, it also is feasible that some residents have begun to anticipate changes they perceive as inevitable and, in effect, have begun to become critical of the area even though it has experienced little change in provision of goods and/or sercices associated with development or planning during the period since the first interviews were collected. It also is unlikely that the rather dire straits experienced by the cattle industry and felt by a large proportion of residents in the area might also have led a few respondents to question the desirability of the place since this is a recurrent problem endured for many decades. In addition, area residents have had the opportunity to view development ranging from mining through power plant construction, and consequently have changed their opinions regarding their potential effects. It appears relatively obvious that negative anticipations of development and development induced modifications of traditional

patterns have been responsible for reductions in satisfaction.

A general and diffuse set of changes may have occurred throughout the state or the country which might have led to a pervasive reduction in residents' satisfaction, though this can be discounted on the basis of responses obtained from another research site outside the coal development area from which comparable responses were obtained. No similar pessimism was reported in that site. Such factors undoubtedly have been related to the increasing proportion of land owners who have agreed to lease or sell property to energy corporations, a factor which might turn some respondents into less devoted advocates of the area than they previously had been. Although the methods employed permit no accurate means of distinguishing the relative effects of these, as well as other changes in the area, which might account for perceived changes by respondents, such differences clearly exist.

As should be expected from the preceding discussion, respondents generally feel the area has become less desirable during the past two years. Moreover, they have come to resist the notions of development and planning less than they did two years ago. This change, once again, may be due to anticipating area-wide development, which might be felt more acceptable with proper planning. Certainly the region in which they live offers several examples of coal development as well as the promise of several more. And their impressions of such development may have led them to moderate their opposition toward development and planning.

An interval of two years is a relatively short time period to examine social change. Social change involves such a large number of interacting variables that evident changes in more than a few of them can hardly be

expected in such a short period. Rather, one expects the full effect of alterations in the social structure to take several years and sometimes several decades. Perceptions and anticipations of the social structure, on the other hand, may change rather rapidly. In addition, it is possible for the subjective dimensions of change to occur although few objectively measurable changes in the social structure or other aspects of the environment may have occurred.

The data reported here indicate rather significant perceived and anticipated changes have occurred in the Randhland study. These changes have occurred in spite of relatively few external alterations in the social and physical environments. Collectively the changes imply a growing dissatisfaction with the area, services within the area, decision making in the area, as well as a sense of helplessness among area residents. Residents seem increasingly to anticipate future needs within the area even though no such needs were felt to exist so long as development was not imminent. Now, with intensive coal mining and power generation more immediately probable, the residents have been led to reexamine the material and value aspects of their lives and have found some deficiencies and disillusions in each from the perspective of what they might encounter in the future. Some may have been led further to compare some aspects of their area with those found elsewhere and concluded theirs was somewhat lacking. In any case, the general desires for more services and facilities are expressed though few significant changes in attitudes concerning planning have taken place.

Summary and Conclusions

Many feelings regarding satisfaction and development are related to perceptions of community change. The type of community and the type of change determines in part the directions which changes in opinions and perceptions may take although a precise set of relationships does not appear to exist. However, woven among the threads of paradox and inconsistencies a pattern is apparent. One important observation is that changes in perceptions related to a place need not be associated with actual changes which have occurred there so much as perceptions of who would control the change in the event it occurred. In Ranchland rather pronounced changes in satisfaction and feelings toward planning occurred despite no actual developments between data collection periods reflecting the purposive change of anticipated coal development from external controls. The directions of change also are important because they relect the essential differences in the study communities. As hypothesized, Ranchland respondents had become more critical of their area and many planning efforts within it while Valleyville respondents became more satisfied with theirs while retaining much of their criticism toward planning. These alterations must be based upon anticipation of change of the areas as much or more than upon actual modifications of formal community structure. Valleyville residents appear to see much of their community developing because of natural forces, that is, crescively, or to sympathize with the purposes of developers whereas change in Randhland is seen as externally imposed modification of an existing, natural system. Third, responses to actual or perceived community changes do not appear to occur unidimensionally. Rather, at least two interacting variables

operate. Residents appear to have a tacit understanding of what services are expected and what degree of autonomy they expect in their community. Rural residents appear willing to accept minimal services in exchange for relatively high personal and community autonomy and self direction. They may oppose development which would threaten these valued qualities. But, following a perceived reduction in autonomy, their expectations become more similar to their city cousins. Townspersons, having more demanding expectations for services, become more satisfied as they perceive them to increase. Townspersons also are critical of externally imposed controls represented by planning even though they are usually experiencing externally imposed controls through factors which permit the development and expansion of their community. Ironically, the opposition to externally directed planning often permits the local community to evolve in manners undesirable to either town or rural residents because of the absence of alternative mechanisms for optimizing developments and satisfaction. Community control structures which are acceptable to residents during relatively static periods may be incapable of effectively dealing with change, especially if the change is as dramatic as is perceived to be occurring in Ranchland. However, attachments exist for traditional mechanisms of control just as they do for other aspects of a way of life.

Persons in the small integrated community, still operating under the illusion that they have a major decision making role, are highly optimistic that they are affecting policy with their participation. With the passage of time they realize that their participation is somewhat incidental to

the decision which will affect them, certainly not of the magnitude it might receive in local decision making such as electing a school board or establishing an S.I.D.

Reasons for the inconsistencies and paradoxes probably are several. The communities chosen are not long standing polar opposites, but in fact share many similarities of history, populations and values. The communities were observed over short term intervals making the processes unlikely to have continued to their hypothesized conclusions. Moreover, despite attempts to minimize biases induced through the research process undoubtedly some occurred. Slight differences in the meaning or interpretation of area-relevant questions, for example, probably accounted for some uncontrolled variance (Smith, 1975) in response patterns. Nevertheless, despite these and other potential inadequacies, the comparisons show considerable consistency with the theoretical notions described in earlier sections of the paper. Ranchland residents perceive their world to be deteriorating; those in more urban Valleyville feel theirs is improving. The difference primarily appears to be due to their respective willingness to favor development. Certainly, the kind of development may have something to do with its acceptability. Clean, quiet industry employing highly salaried white collar workers might be more acceptable, sui generis, than dirty, noisy industry with blue collar wage earners, though those are not exactly the realities of Ranchland and Valleyville development. Still, most Ranchland residents would neither hear the noise nor breathe the dust or smoke of coal development since most live miles from most proposed development. Rather, they are bothered by the notion of development occurring in their territory and

with the social consequences it may have. Engineering solutions to every conceivable negative physical impact might be perfected and much opposition to development probably would remain. Ranchland residents feel they have something special, a way of life, and they fear it may be eclipsed by imminent change (Stein, 1960). Meanwhile, the way of life of Valleyville seems to be expanding towards the urban pole to the increasing satisfaction of its residents.

The Future

Seeds of discontent are beginning to occur in Valleyville and already have been sown and harvested in Ranchland. Probably the most important factor governing community satisfaction will be the distribution of immigrating populations. In Valleyville a mixture of satisfaction and discontent with planning will likely occur, especially among the immigrants from less desirable urban places. Migrants with rural origins, being unfamiliar with development issues, probably will be confused about planning but will be satisfied with community services. Discontent will be greatest among persons originally established in or attracted to the small town which rapidly is dissolving into the suburban expansion.

Readers now probably are moved to ask, "Where has this exercise taken us?" The methodologists may feel it has led toward confusion. Differences certainly appear to exist between the two times and two places. But, the precise character of the differences remains less clear than the data might warrant. Instead, what is needed is a thorough examination of larger samples of each type of community so that the exact nature of variation can be understood. The theorists may reply it has muddied the

conceptual waters by failing to adequately define each theoretical issue, delieneate their relationships and, consequently, arrive at their level of truth. The planners may concur it certainly has relevant implications for evaluating the efficacy of proposed projects or designing mitigation strategies for approved projects. Still, the manner in which legal guidelines may be dovetailed with this information remain unclear and perhaps should best be ignored. Still, with due appreciation of the respective counsel and criticism of methodologists, theorists and planners, there are problems out there in the world of communities which, if ignored or left alone, will become the regrets of the future.

One further critical subject, yet unexplored, is how the processes described to be operating will eventually be resolved. For example, increased disillusionment among old timers in Valleyville and especially in Ranchland might be expected. This can best be tested by extending the panels through several more years. Moreover, the members of the panels must be followed, at least for a short time, after moving from their original communities, in order to measure their changes in satisfaction. Such data collection activities are extremely expensive. Furthermore, they are time consuming. And, they require the development of more suitable measurement instruments, since most comparative measures thus far developed can not realistically be applied to data collected in this manner. Hopefully, these efforts will be rewarded by greater sophistication in the understanding of social change and, consequently, more useful assistance to communities coping with change.

TABLE I

Difference of Means Between Valleyville and Ranchland Respondents for Selected Measures of Satisfaction(a)

	$Rt_1 \Delta Vt_1$	$Rt_1 \Delta Rt_2$	$Vt_1 \Delta Vt_2$	$Rt_2 \Delta Vt_2$	Implications of Change Regarding Satisfaction
Personal Satisfaction					
Happy Place*	$+1.76^{++}$	$+2.41^{++}$	-2.06^{++}	-2.96^{++}	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases perception of happy community
Desirable Place	$+1.57^{++}$	+1.24	-1.93^{++}	-1.52	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases perception of desirable community
Pay Higher Tax	$+1.88^{++}$	$+1.74^{++}$	-1.83^{++}	$+1.70^{+}$	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases willingness to pay taxes
Population Acceptable	+1.16	-1.43^{+}	+1.05	-1.74^{+}	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases acceptability of population increase
Helpful Residents	$+1.62^{++}$	$+1.57^{++}$	+1.45	+1.41	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 unchanged perception of helpful neighbors
Suitable Size	+1.21	-1.05	-1.20	-1.04	Rt_1 unchanged, Vt_2 unchanged perception of community as of acceptable size
Service Satisfaction					
Schools	+1.14	+1.14	-1.60^{+}	-1.60	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases a quality of schools
Safe Place	+1.17	+1.28	+1.21	+1.32	Rt_1 unchanged, Vt_2 unchanged percpetions of safe place
Police Protection	+1.32	$+1.28^{+}$	$+1.76^{+}$	$+1.68^{+}$	Rt_1 unchanged, Vt_2 declines adequacy of police protection
Recreation Facilities	$+1.57^{++}$	-1.67^{++}	-1.39	-1.89^{+}	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases adequacy of recreational facilities
Medical Facilities	-1.29	-1.10	-1.44	-2.05^{++}	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases adequacy of medical facilities
Adult Education	+1.17	-1.69^{++}	-1.26	-1.83^{+}	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases adequacy of adult education
Health Care	-1.28	-1.95^{++}	-1.15	-2.86^{++}	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases adequacy of health care
Job Opportunities	+1.99++	-1.20	-1.28^{+}	+1.40	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases availability of jobs
Counselling	+1.08	-1.04	-1.44	-1.61	Rt_1 unchanged, Vt_2 unchanged adequacy of counselling
Senior Citizens	$+1.55^{++}$	-1.06	-1.40	+1.17	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 unchanged adequacy of senior citizen facilities
Public Housing	+1.03	-1.29	-1.4[illegible]	-1.95^{++}	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases adequacy of public housing

(a)The entire questions asked are provided in Appendix A.

$^{+}$ and $^{++}$ significant at .05 and .01 levels of significance, respectively.

TABLE II

Difference of Means Between Valleyville and Ranchland Respondents for Selected Measures of Feelings Toward Planning and General Optimism(a)

	$Rt_1 \Delta Vt_1$	$Rt_1 \Delta Rt_2$	$Vt_1 \Delta Vt_2$	$Rt_2 \Delta Vt_2$	Implications of Change Regarding Satisfaction	
Planning						
Limiting Development	$+1.46^{++}$	+1.24	-1.24	-1.46	Rt_1 decreases , Vt_2 unchanged	opposition to development
Access to Information	+1.01	-1.13	-1.61^{+}	-1.45	Rt_1 unchanged , Vt_2 increases	perception of access
Government Planners	$+1.76^{++}$	-1.38	-1.61^{+}	-1.26	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases	opposition to planners
Community Decisions	$+1.54^{++}$	-1.04	-1.29	-1.14	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 unchanged	support for community based decisions
Satsified With Impact	$+2.35^{++}$	-1.00	-1.67^{+}	-2.35^{++}	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases	perception of personal impacts
Opposed to Plan	$+2.29^{++}$	-1.43	-1.73^{+}	-1.07	Rt_1 declines , Vt_2 increases	
Vote on Plan	$+3.39^{++}$	-1.83^{++}	-3.63^{++}	-1.95^{++}	Rt_1 decreases , Vt_2 increases	
Wilderness	-1.43^{+}	-1.62^{++}	-1.37	-1.69^{+}	Rt_1 decreases , Vt_2 decreases	
Scenic Resources	-3.39^{++}	-1.31	-1.01	-4.46^{++}	Rt_1 unchanged , Vt_2 increases	
General Optimism						
Personal Influence	+1.13	+1.23	-1.25	+1.13	Rt_1 unchanged , Vt_2 unchanged	perception of personal influence
Peace	$+1.52^{++}$	1.27	-2.14^{++}	-2.56^{++}	Rt_1 decreases , Vt_2 increases	faith in future peace
Powerful Minority	-2.43^{++}	-1.67^{+}	-1.90^{++}	$+1.86^{+}$	Rt_1 decreases , Vt_2 increases	belief in autocracy
Helplessness	+1.22	-1.77^{++}	-1.76^{+}	-1.22	Rt_1 increases , Vt_2 decreases	feelings of helplessness

(a) Entire questions asked are provided in Appendix A.

$^{+}$ and $^{++}$ significant at .05 and .01 levels of significance, respectively.

APPENDIX A

Appendix: Means of responses on Likert Style, Questions ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree, administered to samples drawn from Valleyville and Ranchland.

	Ranchland 1973	Ranchland 1975	Valleyville 1972	Valleyville 1976
Personal Satisfaction				
This part of the state has just about everything necessary for a happy life.	2.02	2.38	2.40	2.14
Of all the places I have lived, this part of the state is the most desirable.	2.11	2.32	2.47	2.11
I would rather pay high taxes and live in this area than pay lower taxes and live elsewhere.	2.70	3.01	3.24	2.76
With proper planning I do not think an increase in population will negatively affect this area.	3.49	3.34	2.51	2.82
People who live around here are more helpful than they are in most places.	1.90	1.96	2.84	3.54
This area has about the right number of persons.	1.90	2.07	3.61	3.70
Service Satisfaction				
We have an excellent school system at this time.	2.54	2.78	2.44	2.11
This is a very safe place to live. Police protection is this area is of high caliber.	3.14	3.53	2.57	2.70
More recreational facilities are unnecessary in this area.	1.89	2.63	2.23	2.53
This area has excellent health and medical care.	3.43	3.78	2.57	2.81
An adult education program would not be useful.	2.64	2.75	2.47	2.53
A more fully developed health program is not needed in this area.	2.67	3.19	2.57	2.81
There are sufficient job opportunities for young people in this area.	2.77	3.62	1.90	2.25
Counselling services in this area are adequate.	2.92	3.33	2.32	2.47
Senior citizens have adequate facilities in this area.	2.98	3.47	3.20	3.53
Public housing is not a problem here.	2.87	3,36	3.14	3,85

	Ranchland		Valleyville	
	1973	1975	1972	1976
Planning				
Concentrating future building in a small number of more urbanized areas and limiting additional development elsewhere.	2.35	2.48	2.97	2.65
Information concerning development is being made available to the general public.	2.60	2.22	2.44	2.19
State and Federal planners should not be involved with development in this area.	2.87	2.49	3.39	3.14
If there is going to be additional development around here, individual communities rather than State or Federal governments should control and conduct it.	2.45	2.20	2.69	2.33
I am satisfied with the influence I have on the local government.	2.30	2.16	2.86	2.89
If scientists wanted to develop a comprehensive plan in this area, how would you feel about signing a petition opposing it?	3.18	3.01	3.63	3.30
If residents in this area were to vote on whether a comprehensive plan should be adopted, how do you think you would vote?	2.07	2.75	2.02	1.78
The creation of additional wilderness near here would be desirable.	3.19	3.21	2.15	2.66
The scenic resources of this area have not been unduly marred by recent changes.	3.09	3.08	1.97	2.03
General Optimism				
There is very little that persons like me can do to stop inflation.	2.60	2.41	2.85	2.89
A lasting world peace can be achieved by those of us who work toward it.	2.61	2.63	2.70	2.88
This world is run by a few people in power and there is not much a person like me can do about it.	3.17	4.00	3.00	3.22
More and more I feel helpless in the face of what is happening in the world today.	2.58	2.61	3.03	2.89

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